



# Editorial Section



POLITICS SCIENCE  
ART & LITERATURE



## The Trust Conference

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By John F. Angalls



THE Chicago Trust Convention, a meeting of bank directors in their parlor could not while barren in practical effect, have been more rational and dignified.

But the hardness and effrontery of ex-Governor Foster and other advocates of the trusts, in claiming that while diminishing the cost of production they reduced the price to consumers, was enough to give the Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World apoplexy. It was a voice crying in the wilderness. All reforms must have an initiative, and the indispensable prerequisite is to get the people to think. With free thought, free speech and a free press no wrong, however entrenched and fortified, can endure. The inertia of society is hard to overcome; we all are disposed to bear the ills we have rather than fly to those we know not of, but once in motion, the momentum is irresistible. Whatever the object of hostility, whether expectorating in public places or holding a race in slavery, it must go.

The convention was composed of thoughtful, level-headed men representing all phases of belief. Nobody slopped over. There was no heat nor passion, nor any exhibition of political partisanship. The cranks and demagogues were absent. The speakers were eminently sane, and indulged in no threats nor forebodings, nor pessimism, nor despair. Bryan very sensibly declined to enter into a tournament of eloquence with Bourke Cockran for the applause of the groundlings, and the speeches generally were as calm and practical as the arguments of lawyers to the court sitting in chambers. All admitted the gravity of the issue, its novelty and the absence of precedents. The dangers were conceded, but there was no denunciation. The consultations of

The impudence of this pretence has a shining illustration in the combination of the coal operators of Kansas, Arkansas, Missouri and the In-



every one warm, but as the mercury goes down coal goes up, and when the thermometer reaches zero there will be a famine, because the demand is greater than the supply.

Meanwhile the condition of millions of laborers, miners, operatives and factory hands is sinking irredeemably deeper and deeper in helpless dependence and hopeless subjection. The wage workers whose livelihood depends absolutely upon the will of an employer, individual or corporate, who can fix the rate and period of his compensation, and discharge him at pleasure, is not free. To be free, the citizen must not only have the legal right, but the opportunity also, and monopoly is slowly but surely building insuperable barriers which poverty cannot pass.

From Runnymede to Central Music Hall, Chicago, is a far cry, but there has been no moment of that interval of seven hundred years in which a race has faltered or hesitated in its determination that "no free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseized, or in any way destroyed, or injured, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, only the law of the land."

It was for this that the Barons bullied King John; that Latimer burned; that Cromwell fought; that the compact was signed in the cabin of the Mayflower; that the Declaration of Independence was written; that old John Brown, of Ossawatimie, died; that the legions of Grant and Sherman and Sheridan marched and conquered; and that Dewey told Gridley to fire when he was ready.

Lord Chatham said to the people of England that the rude latinity of the phrase nullus liber homo was worth more than all the poetry of Virgil and Homer and all the eloquence of Cicero and Demosthenes.

The philosophers, orators, essayists and statesmen have told the people of the United States so vociferously since July 4, 1776, that political liberty was the medicine which would cure all the diseases and infirmities of society that many have accepted it as an article of faith. But Utopia remains an undiscovered country.

Balzac somewhere writes of the consternation that would befall the Christian martyrs on the morning of resurrection if they came forth from their tombs only to discover that religion was an imposture and there was no God in Heaven.

Something like this appalling amazement occurs to those who begin to discern that, although man has at last emerged from the bloody tumult of history lord of himself and exempt from all servitudes except those that are self-imposed, the perplexing enigmas of fate remain.

Men are politically equal, but there is no equality. Suffrage is universal, but political power remains in control of the few. The mines, fields, pastures and forests of a virgin continent have yielded wealth beyond computation, but to the majority of the people life continues to be an incessant and disheartening struggle for shelter, food and raiment. The burdens of the privileges of society are not equitably distributed. Some have superfluity beyond the capacity of extravagance to squander, and others pray in vain for daily bread.

In considering these problems the Chicago convention made it clear that the hostility to trusts does not spring from hatred of wealth, but from the conviction that monopolies are incompatible with democracy, because they deprive the citizen of liberty, which is his birthright, and of opportunity, which is his heritage.

## A Brief for France.

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By Edwin Markham.

The verdict against Dreyfus was infamous. And it is now made more infamous by an illogical and imperfect pardon. It is no mitigation of the crime of France—Daily Newspaper.

AY, say not so: she is the arisen light!

The old paths are outworn, the old gods dead;

And a new pillar of guidance is set up.

Yea, France has raised the torch to light the world—

To show men that the thing they thought is sand

Is granite—that the evil thing is good—

That God's old justice is a foolishness.

Behold, the pillars of the ancient Law

Are worthless to support a nation's weight!

WE thank thee, France, for lighting up the way

Of nations, and for casting down the shrines

Where the sages and the heroes of old time

Knelt in their dream to ease their mighty hearts.

Yea, foolish were the bards of Egypt old;

Blind was the wisdom of the Vedic Word;

And ineffectual the fire that burned

In Zoroaster's heart; frail as thin air

The Aeschylean thunders and the cry.

AND the Tables of the Law borne down of old

Through storm and earthquake from the darkening mount—

They were the merriment of tipsy gods.

The Voice that spake out of the whirlwind fire,

It was an empty babble—let it pass.

Empty as dream were all their soaring words,

When star-eyed prophets cried on kingdoms old,

When thunder answered thunder, and the peaks

Smoked, and the heavens were shaken as a bough.

HE God who sent His thunders upon kings,

He now is fallen down with foolish face.

And lo! Imposture sits upon the throne,

With Fear and Forgery and Hate-of-Jew,

Bowing before him as his ministers.

Now is Unreason reason, and Weak-heart

Is the strong sentinel to guard the gate.

ET all the nations of the world bend down

To thank thee, France, for light upon the way.

Run now and call the quick artificers,

Men that are cunning with their hands, to hew

In shapes of brass Injustice for our god;

And set him on a pillar in the square,

And veil him in the temple. Yea, O France,

Our thanks for casting out the fear of Him,

The White Head, the still-stepping one, the Judge.

HOU hast hurled out the empty god of old,

And set up wise Injustice on the throne.

Cry wonder, all ye chambers of the sun!

Blow triumph, all ye trumpets of the sea!

## The Way to Prevent War

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By Count Leo Tolstoj

"If any one wish to do God's will he will recognize whether my doctrine comes from God or whether I speak of my own accord." 4242



CANNOT dissimulate the feelings of disgust, of indignation, even of despair, which that letter (the Czar's peace proposal) has wrought in me. Those Christians, good, sensible, and enlightened, who consider murder a frightful crime, none of whom, with rare exceptions, would harm an animal, are, however, the same men who, when murder and crime are

called war, not only recognize destruction, pillage and assassination as just and lawful, but contribute to those thefts and massacres, prepare themselves for it, participate and glory in it. However, always and everything, it is undeniable that the immense mass of those who practise this pillage and murder, and undergo all the consequences of it, does not ask for war, does not seek nor desire it, that it takes part in it only against its will, because some man has placed it in such a position that it seems to it that its sufferings would be greater if it refused to participate in it. Thus it is that those who excite to pillage, who prepare massacre, and oblige the working people to give themselves to it, are but a notorious minority, who live in pleasure, luxury, and idleness on the labor of workmen.

If a man is addicted to liquor, and I tell him that he can rid himself of his intemperance through his own

efforts, if I indicate to him how he must act in order to succeed, there is hope that he may listen to me; but if I tell him that his intemperance is a complicated and difficult problem that we men of science are trying to resolve in our conferences, well, very likely he will continue to drink while waiting for the solution of the problem to be discovered. Thus it is by false, "civilized" and scientific ways we seek to abolish war through arbitration, international tribunals, and other absurdities, and neglect the most evident and the most simple method. Granting that the people who do not wish for war ought not to fight, to abolish warfare it is not necessary to establish either international understanding or arbitration or international tribunals, but simply to emancipate the people from the trickery and deceit which enslaves them. The only way to end war is for those who do not wish it and who consider it a sin to participate in it to lay down their arms and refuse to fight.

They tell us that the misunderstandings which may arise between governments will be settled by certain tribunals or by arbitration. But the governments do not in the least wish the solution of their misunderstandings. On the contrary, if none produce themselves they invent them; for it is only through these misunderstandings with each other that they find pretext to maintain those armies upon which depend their power.

The governments fear, and ought to fear, those who refuse to serve. They are afraid of them, because each refusal diminishes the prestige of the deception through which they hold the people under their domination. But those who refuse to serve have no reason to fear a government which asks of them crimes. In refusing military service a man faces fewer risks than if he submits to it. The refusal to do military service, and the



punishment, imprisonment in exile, which is the consequence, often constitute advantageous assurance against the dangers of the service. In accepting it he may have to participate in a war for

which he has been long prepared, and during the war, like a man condemned to death, he is in the situation of one who, unless a concurrence of improbable beneficent circumstances occurs, will certainly be killed or lamed. Another danger profitably escaped is that of the deadly diseases developed by the anti-hygienic conditions which military service involves. But the greatest advantage of this refusal is that, whereas the military service compels a man to pass three or four years of his life in a vicious society, practising the art of killing, being in the same captivity as if in prison, but having, in addition, to dance attendance in a humiliating and depraved submission, the refusal entails only imprisonment or exile. This is true in nearly every case.

In the second place in refusing military service, one, strange as it may seem, may frequently rely on escaping chastisement, his refusal operating to bring about the revelation of the governmental trickery, revelation which, in a short time, would make impossible any and all punishment for such an act. The repetition of similar acts cannot leave men stupid enough to contribute to the punishment of those who refuse to participate in their oppression.

One groans over the sad conditions of the people's life in the civilized world. But it is possible to modify them. We have only to obey the fundamental law proclaimed thousands of years ago: "Thou shalt not kill." Likewise is it with the laws of love and of human fraternity. And yet, what do we see? Every European denies this divine law, but upon the order of a president, or an emperor, or a minister, of Nicholas or of William, he dresses himself ridiculously, seizes a slaughtering instrument and cries out: "Here I am, ready to outrage, ruin or kill whomsoever shall be pointed out to me!"

What can a society composed of such men be? Such a society cannot but be frightful; and so it is!

Awaken, brothers! Do not listen either to those scoundrels who from childhood harass you with the devilish spirit of "patriotism," an enemy to truth and uprightness and which serves only to take away your property, your liberty and your dignity; listen not to those impostors who preach war in the name of a cruel and revengeful God which they have invented out of a perverted and false Christianity; and still less listen to those modern Sadducees who, having for their real aim only the maintenance of things in their present state, assemble in the name of science and civilization, and write books and give lectures promising to give the people a happy and peaceful life without any effort. Do not believe them. Believe only in conscience, which tells you you are neither beasts of burden nor slaves, but free men responsible for your acts, and consequently incapable of becoming murderers, whether of your own free will or upon order of those who live only by murder. You must wake, for you yourselves must give an account of all the horrors and insanities of which you have been guilty. That done, you will put an end to this disease which you abhor and which is ruining you.

If you succeed, all these impostors who after having corrupted you oppress you, will vanish like dew before the light of day. Then will be realized this new human and fraternal life toward which Christianity aspires, dulled with sufferings, exhausted by lies, and lost in insoluble contradictions. Let each one fulfil, without confused and adulterated argument, that which each day his conscience commands him, and he will recognize the truth of the gospel: "If any one wish to do God's will, he will recognize whether my doctrine comes from God or whether I speak of my own accord."